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Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit . . .

METHODIST Peace Courier

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"ATOMIC POWER FOR PEACE" An Address by President Eisenhower

Selections from the Address and Comments by Charles F. Boss, Jr.

Before the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 8, President Eisenhower gave to the world, as well as to the General Assembly of the United Nations in official session, an inspiring message of hope against a background of possible atomic destruction. The Christian Century well calls it the President's Christmas gift to the world. In his introductory sentences, he inspired the General Assembly --- and all of us --- by stating that he would use the office of President "to assure you that the Government of the United States will remain steadfast in its support of this body. This we shall do in the conviction that you will provide a great share of the wisdom, the courage, and the faith which can bring to this world lasting peace for all nations, and happiness and well being for all men."

He asked, in view of the belief that a great danger exists in the world which is shared by all, as to what more appropriate audience can there be in which to advance any proposal designed to ease world tensions than "the members of the General Assembly of the United Nations"? He indicated that he was impelled to speak in a new language, "the language of atomic warfare." He justified his plain speaking on the grounds that "if the peoples of the world are to conduct an intelligent search for peace, they must be armed with the significant facts of today's existence.

The effect of his review of "the fearful potentials" will not soon be forgotten:

"On July 16, 1945, the United States set off the world's first atomic explosion. Since that date in 1945, the United States of America has conducted 42 test explosions.

"Atomic bombs today are more than 25 times as powerful as the weapons with which the atomic age dawned, while hydrogen weapons are in the ranges of millions of tons of TNT equivalent.

"Today, the United States' stockpile of atomic weapons, which, of course, increases daily, exceeds by many times the explosive equivalent of the total of all bombs and all shells that came from every plane and every gun in every theatre of war in all of the years of World War II.

"A single air group, whether afloat or land-based, can now deliver to any reachable target a destructive cargo exceeding in power all the bombs that fell on Britain in all of World War II.

"In size and variety, the development of atomic weapons has been no less remarkable. The development has been such that atomic weapons have virtually achieved conventional status within our armed services. In the United States, the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Marine Corps are all capable of putting this weapon to military use.

"But the dread secret, and the fearful engines of atomic might, are not ours alone."

He cited that the secret is possessed by Great Britain and Canada, and "is also known by the Soviet Union." He pointed out that there is no monopoly of atomic power. He affirmed the capacity of the United States to reply to any attack with "devastating retaliation," but pointed out that this is "no preventive . . . against the fearful material damage and toll of human lives that would be inflicted by surprise aggression." He stated, "Let no one think that the expenditure of vast sums for weapons and systems of defense can guarantee absolute safety for the cities and citizens of any nation. The awful arithmetic of the atomic bomb does not permit of any such easy solution. Even against the most powerful defense, an aggressor in possession of the effective minimum number of atomic bombs for a surprise attack could probably place a sufficient number of his bombs on the chosen targets to cause hideous damage."

The President continued, "No sane member of the human race could discover victory in such desolation. Could anyone wish his name to be coupled by history with such human degradation and destruction." Admitting there had been "Great Destroyers" in history, he said, "It is with the book of history, and not with isolated pages, that the United States will ever wish to be identified. My country wants to be constructive, not destructive. It wants agreements, not wars, among nations. It wants itself to live in freedom, and in the confidence that the people of every other nation enjoy equally the right of choosing their own way of life."

He pressed the immediacy for starting some constructive way out. He said:

"So my country's purpose is to help us move out of the dark chamber of horrors into the light, to find a

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ATOMIC POWER FOR PEACE

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way by which the minds of men, the hopes of men, the souls of men everywhere, can move forward toward peace and happiness and well being.

"In this quest, I know that we must not lack patience. I know that in a world divided, such as ours today, salvation cannot be attained by one dramatic act.

"I know that many steps will have to be taken over many months before the world can look at itself one day and truly realize that a new climate of mutually peaceful confidence is abroad in the world.

"But I know, above all else, that we must start to take these steps - - NOW."

He noted what appeared to be some change in attitude of the Soviet Union toward a four power meeting and assured his hearers that the United States would bend every effort to bring about tangible results in lessening international tension. In conciliatory words he said:

"We never have, we never will, propose or suggest that the Soviet Union surrender what is rightfully theirs.

"We will never say that the peoples of Russia are an enemy with whom we have no desire ever to deal or mingle in friendly and fruitful relationship.

"On the contrary, we hope that this Conference may initiate a relationship with the Soviet Union which will eventually bring about a free intermingling of the peoples of the East and of the West ---- the one sure, human way of developing the understanding required for confident and peaceful relations."

He expressed goals in terms of a "harmonious family of friendly European nations," and "beyond the turmoil and strife and misery of Asia" a "peaceful opportunity for these people to develop their natural resources and elevate their lives." He referred to the relief and economic assistance given the suffering by the West as "deeds of peace. They speak more loudly than promises or protestations of peaceful intent." He stressed that "every new avenue of peace, no matter how dimly discernible, should be explored," and pointed out that although the United Nations had explored the possibility of disarmament, that the United States, within the action of the General Assembly of the United Nations, "is instantly prepared to meet privately with such other countries as may be 'principally involved', to seek 'an acceptable solution.'"

He then stated, "We shall carry into these private or diplomatic talks a new conception" for "It is not enough to take this weapon out of the hands of the soldiers. It must be put into the hands of those who will know how to strip its military casing and adapt it to the arts of peace."

"The United States knows that if the fearful trend of atomic military buildup can be reversed, this greatest of destructive forces can be developed into a great boon, for the benefit of all mankind."

In order "to hasten the day when fear of the atom will begin to disappear from the minds of people, and the governments of the East and West, there are certain steps that can be taken now."

Proposal for Joint Atomic Contributions

"I therefore make the following proposals:

"The Governments principally involved, to the extent permitted by elementary prudence, to begin now and continue to make joint contributions from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an International Atomic Energy Agency. We would expect that such an agency would be set up under the aegis of the United Nations.

"The ratios of contributions, the procedures and other details would properly be within the scope of the 'private conversations' I have referred to earlier.

"The United States is prepared to undertake these explorations in good faith. Any partner of the United States acting in the same good faith will find the United States a not unreasonable or ungenerous associate.

"Undoubtedly initial and early contributions to this plan would be small in quantity. However, the proposal has the great virtue that it can be undertaken without the irritations and mutual suspicions incident to any attempt to set up a completely acceptable system of world-wide inspection and control.

"The Atomic Energy Agency could be made responsible for the impounding, storage, and protection of the contributed fissionable and other materials. The ingenuity of our scientists will provide special safe conditions under which such a bank of fissionable material can be made essentially immune to surprise seizure.

"The more important responsibility of this Atomic Energy Agency would be to devise methods whereby this fissionable material would be allocated to serve the peaceful pursuits of mankind. Experts would be mobilized to apply atomic energy to the needs of agriculture, medicine, and other peaceful activities. A special purpose would be to provide abundant electrical energy in the power-starved areas of the world. Thus the contributing powers would be dedicating some of their strength to serve the needs rather than the fears of mankind.

"The United States would be more than willing --- it would be proud to take up with others 'principally involved' the development of plans whereby such peaceful use of atomic energy would be expedited.

"Of those 'principally involved' the Soviet Union must, of course, be one."

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Out of Fear and Into Peace

"I would be prepared to submit to the Congress of the United States, and with every expectation of approval, any such plan that would:

"First --- encourage world-wide investigation into the most effective peacetime uses of fissionable material, and with the certainty that they had all the material needed for the conduct of all experiments that were appropriate;

"Second -- begin to diminish the potential destructive power of the world's atomic stockpiles;

"Third --- allow all peoples of all nations to see that in this enlightened age, the great powers of the earth, both of the East and of the West, are interested in human aspirations first, rather than in building up the armaments of war;

"Fourth -- open up a new channel for peaceful discussion, and initiate at least a new approach to the many difficult problems that must be solved in both private and public conversations, if the world is to shake off the inertia imposed by fear, and is to make positive progress toward peace.

"Against the dark background of the atomic bomb, the United States does not wish merely to present strength, but also the desire and the hope for peace.

"The coming months will be fraught with fateful decisions. In this Assembly; in the capitals and military headquarters of the world; in the hearts of men everywhere, be they governors or governed, may they be the decisions which will lead this world out of fear and into peace.

"To the making of these fateful decisions, the United States pledges before you -- and therefore before the world --- its determination to help solve the fearful atomic dilemma - to devote its entire heart and mind to find the way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life.

"I again thank the delegates for the great honor they have done me, in inviting me to appear before them, and in listening to me so courteously. Thank you."

Copies of full text of President Eisenhower's address in pamphlet form may be obtained at 10¢ each from the Board of World Peace.

EXTRA!!!!!

The Soviet Union has agreed to talks in Washington through Russian Ambassador Zurubin. Secretary Dulles will keep other friendly atomic powers informed. President Eisenhower made clear that this plan should operate through the United Nations. This event may reveal new policies of the post-Stalin Russia and can be of the utmost importance. Agreement on this could pave the way for long range peace....What about a full-scale Council of Europe?

U.M.T. -- A DEAD DUCK

A responsible body of undoubtedly intelligent men were appointed by President Eisenhower to consider a new approach to Universal Military Training. And what do they come up with? They propose a plan based on the luck of lottery. They admit that it is no substitute for intelligent selection.

Congressional reaction was immediate. The Republican Chairman of the House Committee, Honorable Dewey Short of Missouri, is unconvinced. He is reported to have said, "I am opposed to U.M.T. It won't work." This judgment was expressed by many members of Congress. Hon. Joseph Martin, Speaker of the House, is reported to have said flatly, "I don't think the program would have much chance. Congress has already said the draft and U.M.T. should not operate concurrently." The Republican Majority Whip in the House, Leslie Arends, took a similar position.

The report -- as quoted by the press -- said from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 "fit and qualified men" will be available for U.M.T. between now and 1960. This is a part of the false-face. In a six or seven year period neither men nor political situations stand still. Men trained in U.M.T. --- even with refresher summer courses in subsequent years do not remain "fit and qualified." Health, marriage status, type of vocation, and employment, and many other factors encountered by Selective Service affect men's fitness and availability. Changes in weapons and tactics produced by science also tend to make the assumed "fitness and available" character of U.M.T. obsolete. No wonder the National Security Training Commission has said that Selective Service would still be necessary. Even in the current high-charged international situation the draft call for men as just announced by Secretary of Defense Wilson calls for but 18,000 men per month instead of the previous 23,000 -- i.e. 5,000 fewer per month. In December, President Eisenhower announced plans to withdraw two divisions from Korea (32,000).

In creating a new Commission to study the question of a possible U.M.T. plan to correct injustice one does not question President Eisenhower's sincerity. But can there by <u>any</u> plan of military draft and service which does not involve the bearing of heavier burdens by some; <u>any</u> war system that can guarantee equity in casualties --- especially in view of today's wars? In today's and tomorrow's wars - if such should come - the casualties and burdens of un-drafted millions of civilians may prove heavier than those of drafted men, by whatever process they are trained. The most vulnerable targets (those marked for the atomic "kill") will be the great centers of population, rail, air, and telephonic communication, and the great industrial and shipping centers of the world.

The generation of U.M.T. enthusiasts dies hard. Year after year since the first world war, they have pulled out every trick in the bag. But they have not yet "put it over" on a democratic, freedom-loving America.

Some months ago when asked if he had any plans for U.M.T. legislation, Secretary of Defense Wilson said he had not. He was quoted as saying the American people have demonstrated that they do not want it. He was right. And the Church was never more emphatically opposed. U.M.T. is, we believe, a "dead duck." Meanwhile -- vigilant readiness for action!

Since an atomic-hydrogen war, if it came, would have to end soon after it started, isn't it the part of wisdom to stop it before it starts? Isn't it wise to reject proposed folly? President Eisenhower's eloquent proposal to seek world-wide partnership for the constructive and just use of atomic power provides a more intelligent

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and hopeful proposal than suggested plans for conscription through lottery.

General Eisenhower, in his address at Boston University in 1946 on the occasion of the honor paid him by the granting of an honorary degree, turned to President Daniel Marsh of B. U. and said, "I have been classed as a rather risky chance-taking person, and I venture to make a suggestion. Why doesn't Dr. Marsh, and the president of every great university in the world, teach his people to put people in my profession permanently out of a job?"

We believe it not impossible that the present generation may see the day when the prophetic words of Isaiah and Micah have become true: "Neither shall they learn war any more." What vision these Eighth Century Before Christ prophets revealed; they foresaw the ethical justice of the abolition from the curriculum of man of "learning war." Police training -- local, county, federal, international -- no doubt. This will be the application of science and law by all mankind against criminal violation. But the learning of what has been involved in learning war will cease.

C.F.B. Jr.

"We reaffirm our opposition to any system of peacetime universal military training. In this we stand on the platform laid down by the General Conference in Paragraph 2026, Section 8, in the Discipline. We recommend that the Board of World Peace be asked to bring this vigorously to the attention of the Church."

Council of Bishops of The Methodist Church in session at Sea Island, Georgia, Dec. 10, 1953.

The only new item in the recently submitted UMT report is the emphasis upon "Reserves." Our previous arguments against UMT stand. The new argument for Reserves is adequately answered in the leaflet, The Facts About UMT and the Reserves (available at 10¢ per copy, $5.00 per 100).

SOME RESOURCES ON U.M.T.

UMT -- A good summary of the practical arguments against the adoption of Universal Military Training. 15 minutes. 35 mm. filmstrip.

UMT and Militarism -- A packet of a dozen items dealing with the issue of Universal Military Training from a practical Christian viewpoint in line with the position of the General Conference. Price 50¢.

OF SPECIAL INTEREST

A new and relevant study booklet which many leaders will want to read and many churches will want to study: PROBLEMS OF EAST-WEST SETTLEMENT, by Wade, Riggs, and Gary, with introduction by Vera M. Dean. A Foreign Policy Association booklet which sells for 35¢, available from the Board of World Peace.

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TRADE RESTRICTIONS EASED

A release by Mr. Harold Stassen, Director of the Mutual Security Administration, indicates a lessening of trade restrictions between Western and back-of-the-Iron Curtain countries, particularly with reference to non-strategic materials. He reveals that this policy shift has been in effect for some five months. This interesting development seemed bound to come sooner or later, but has followed the stepped-up increase in trade between such countries as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia with Western European nations. It seems apparent that a widening of international trade between the Western and some behind-the-Iron-Curtain countries is inevitable if peace is to prevail. Prevailing economic conditions in the United States, while not reaching a depression, at least indicate some slow-down in United States' economy. Therefore, official action partially lifting bans on international trade is no doubt welcome.

The demand for increasing international trade activity will also be a large element in reconsideration of the status of Communist China. However, any change in this status will be based also upon conclusions as to whether recognition would or would not isolate Communist China from the grip of the Kremlin. The easing of international trade relations will contribute, with other factors, to greatly lessen international tensions, including the address of President Eisenhower at the United Nations on December proposing an international pool of atomic energy for peaceful uses in agriculture, medicine, and the supply of power to power-starved areas of the world.

C.F.B. Jr.

PEACE WORK IN JOLIET

The Ottawa Street Methodist Church in Joliet, Illinois, has a healthy representation of vocations on its two-year old peace committee: a high school teacher, a junior college teacher, an elementary school teacher, a lawyer, a housewife, a college student, a public utility officer, and the minister, Robert Hamill. The chairman is H. D. Leinenweber. The committee meets on call about once a month.

Realizing that education must precede action, this committee has distributed to the members of the church such publications as "Steps to Peace," "Gandhi and the H-Bomb," "Dawn over Asia," "The Methodist Church and War and Peace," and "Negotiation Not Appeasement." The committee has, however, had an action program, as for example, in opposition to U.M.T.

With a fine sense of social evangelism it has made its message felt in the community. Martin Niemoller of Germany, Donald Soper of Britain, and Senator Paul Douglas have been brought to Joliet. Speakers and discussion leaders have been provided for all types of community groups, forums, seminars, and public meetings, especially upon the work of the United Nations.

Looking into the future, the committee plans studies for the early months of 1954 which will deal with the issues before the next session of Congress. Already the Bricker Amendment has been discussed. In January, church members will invite foreign students to their homes. Peace literature is continuously on display in the church.